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EQUAL RIGHTS

"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION."

Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress

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ALVA BELMONT HOUSE
Woman's Party National Headquarters in Washington, D. C.
(See pages 86-93)

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Equal Rights

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, and the adherence of the United States to the Equal Rights Treaty. The Woman's Party also supports the proposed Equality Amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Art. 1—Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

"Art. 2.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Introduced

Senate—By Senator John G. Townsend, (Del.), and Senator Edward R. Burke, (Neb.), Jan. 4, 1939, (Senate Joint Resolution No. 7).

House—By Representative Louis Ludlow, (Ind.), Jan. 3, 1939, (House Joint Resolution No. 2).
By Representative U. S. Guyer, (Kans.), Jan. 3, 1939, (House Joint Resolution No. 27).
By Representative Ambrose J. Kennedy, (Md.), Jan. 3, 1939, (House Joint Resolution No. 25).

Present Status

Senate—Before Judiciary Sub-Committee.

House—Before Judiciary Committee.

Favorable action by Sub-Committee April 26, 1939.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS TREATY

"Art. 1—The contracting States agree that upon the ratification of this Treaty men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

Signed

By Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay, at Montevideo, December, 1933.

PROPOSED EQUALITY AMENDMENTS TO COVENANT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries the right of vote shall not be denied or abridged on the ground of sex."

The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice regarding nationality."

"The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries men and women shall have equal rights in all other fields."

"The members of the League undertake that there shall be both men and women, with full voting powers, in all delegations to the Council and Assembly of the League and to all Conferences under the auspices of the League."

Present Status

Before the League of Nations Committee on Status of Women.

Alva Belmont House

ALVA BELMONT HOUSE on Capitol Hill, National Headquarters of the National Woman's Party, stands in silent eloquence, championing the cause of women for a full share in democracy.

Looking out over the broad acres that were once a part of the original estate, the National Headquarters has a commanding view of the Capitol of the nation and the United States Supreme Court, two other eloquent buildings, reminders to the world that the United States is a government "Of the people, by the people and for the people."

To members of the Legislative Branch of the Government, assembled in the Capitol to make its laws, the National Headquarters of the Woman's Party is a silent lobby for equality between citizens. It says to Congress, "Women, as citizens of the United States, demand that the laws under which they live shall be equal in their application to men and women, if our country is to be consistent in its Democracy."

It daily reminds Congress that women of the nation have found it necessary, in their struggle for Democracy, to maintain a national headquarters. This in itself broadcasts the fact that women do not now share in Democracy to the extent men enjoy it.

Alva Belmont House silently contradicts to the world the truth of the inscription above the portal of the United States Supreme Court—"Equal Justice Under Law," because the mission of Alva Belmont House is to *ask* "Equal Justice Under Law" for American women, to whom it is still denied through discriminatory laws, based solely on sex.

In a Democracy, Alva Belmont House dramatically appeals for Democracy for women.

In a Democracy National Headquarters appeals for *equal justice under law*, because women are denied it.

Situated on Capitol Hill the throngs that daily pass the Headquarters are, through its very existence, made aware of the continuing battle women are waging for Democracy, in a nation whose citizens fought a war to "Make the World Safe for Democracy."

In a land where the appeal of a Democratic form of Government is so strong, it cannot fail to focus attention upon the fact that there is a weak link in our Democratic chain.

To women of the United States Alva Belmont House beckons. From every state in the Union and from all walks of life they come. They look upon the National Headquarters of the Woman's Party as a champion of their cause. To thousands it represents a principle in which they have always believed, but regarding which they felt impotent until Alva Belmont House on Capitol Hill began its effective crusade.

The historic house from which were fired the only shots in the defense of Washington when the British entered the Capital during the War of 1812, is again a defender. It now defends the rights of women. It does not merely house an organization. It has a much deeper significance. The bricks of which it is constructed were brought from England when men and women of the Colonies were carving for themselves and their descendants a new homeland, where they could be free from oppression. The structure was in existence when the young Democracy made secure its form of Government by adopting a Constitution.

The lovely old house itself has become a symbol of the cause of women. Women of many other nations, while visiting the United States, are recipients of its hospitality, gathering there to talk over the problems of women of the world.

Alva Belmont House, Woman's Party National Headquarters, is truly more than a house!

An Amendment Will Stop The Leak

STOP THE TROUBLE AT THE SOURCE OR FIGHT THE SAME BATTLES AGAIN AND AGAIN

H. B. ELLISTON, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* a column captioned "This Changing World," shows the fallacy of the present day argument that wives of job-holding husbands should be prevented by law from working.

Laws prohibiting married women working, or—to put it in a practical way—laws preventing working women from marrying—provide a striking example of the discriminations it is possible to inflict upon women without a guarantee in the Constitution that the law shall be equal in its application to men and women. With an Equal Rights Amendment in the Constitution, discriminatory laws would be unconstitutional. The attack at the moment happens to be on the right of married women to work, but it shows the trend and there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent attacks on the right of *all women* to work, to own and handle property, to be guardians of their children, to hold office, to serve on juries and so on ad infinitum.

If the existence of a horde of new laws discriminating against women, of which the right of married women to work is an example, does not convince American women that they must make haste and press for immediate passage of the Equal Rights Amendment while there is yet time, they are indeed blind to what is transpiring in the world today. If women succeed in defeating these particular obnoxious laws, they still have to face an uncertain future. The defeating of one law by no means settles the matter, which will remain unsettled until there is a guarantee in the fundamental law of the land. *The Equal Rights Amendment is such a guarantee.* The framers of the Constitution, noting the frailty of human nature and the tendency on the part of most human beings to regulate others, placed in the Constitution such guarantees as "Freedom of Speech" and "Freedom of the Press." The rights of women as citizens in a democracy must be similarly guarded. It is stupid to say "This Cannot Happen." *It is happening!*

If a boat leaks, the only thing that will stop it permanently is to fix the leak. Constant bailing out the water is only a temporary measure. The minute you stop you are in danger again. The reason women are constantly harassed by discriminatory laws is because there is a "leak" in the Constitution where they are concerned. The Equal Rights Amendment stops the leak. Defeating individual laws only bails out the boat temporarily. The leak remains.

Women of the nation united in a campaign resulting in the defeat of Section 213 of the Economy Act under which many women in government employ lost their jobs. The section was repealed two years ago. Now there is a flood of state laws covering the same principle. It is necessary to fight again the same battle on another front. The intelligent thing would be for women of all groups to unite in the campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment which will put a stop to these endless discriminatory laws based on sex. Any other procedure is both short-sighted and inefficient.

Mr. Elliston in his splendid article in the *Christian Science Monitor* says in part:

"Isn't it a shame that Mrs. Jones goes out to work when her husband has such a good job? Why doesn't she stay home, and let somebody else who needs work have her job?" We have all heard these indignant remarks in one form or another. They sound unassailable, and it has seldom been my experience to hear a dissent. Rather the conversation is wound up sententiously by somebody emitting the demand that has turned so many free societies into policed ones. "There ought to be a law!" Curiously, such conversations seems to be heard mainly among the women themselves.

This is curious because, by allowing the law to discriminate against women, the women themselves are setting back the clock which has brought them "emancipation." . . . Now they are fast losing equality in the vital particular of the right to work. No fewer than 20 States are considering bills putting obstacles in the way of job-holding by working wives. (I see that the bills have become laws in four States.) Of course, this limitation applies only to official jobs. But a measure before the Illinois Legislature would legalize discrimination against the working wife in private as well as official employment.

* * *

Now the women's organizations are fighting the working wife bills with every resource at their command. For they realize what is at stake. One discrimination always leads to another. What is being witnessed today is the opening wedge of a movement which may have serious consequences for all working women. Grant that working wives with husbands earning more than a certain amount ought not to be allowed to work. Then you will find the way paved for an endless growth in job discrimination. The amount of the husband's salary beyond which his wife could not work would be reduced; girls living at home whose parents are dependent upon them would be penalized; widows with any income at all would be barred from employment. Senator Ellender of Louisiana, facetiously or not, thinks that "there should be a law" regulating the practice of employing pretty girls as Government secretaries. You can fill in the prospect of this kind of job regulating according to your own imagination. For, granted the justification of it, there is nothing surer than that this sort of thing will be progressive.

The handwriting on the wall was written as long ago as 1932 by the Federal Government. In that year married women were driven off the public pay roll in scores. At the time I didn't hear many protests. But there must have been enough agitation behind the scenes. For the discrimination was repealed in 1937...

* * *

What is the justification, the driving force behind this new anti-women legislation? Mrs. Roosevelt says economic conditions. More truly she could have said fear, and fear based upon an economy fallacy. The fallacy is that there is only a certain amount of work available, and, accordingly, lawmakers should make a "fair" apportionment of it.

How a fixed idea like this can be harbored when even a solitary inventor working in his attic has it in his head to generate thousands of work opportunities is beyond understanding. Work isn't a static idea."

Women's organizations could render a service not only by fighting the discrimination against them, but by combating the mistaken theories that give them birth. The boat is leaking. The Equal Rights Amendment will stop the leak.

Business and Professional Women

JULY 9-14 THERE will meet in Kansas City, Mo., representatives of the National Business and Professional Women's Clubs from forty-eight States. About twenty years ago business and professional women of the nation began formation of this Federation for the purpose of advancing the interests of women of their classification.

The move was a wise one because in the years that followed they were able through conventions and conferences to discuss their common problems and to work out a unified program for their solution.

Since the organization of the National Federation the number of women earning a living for themselves and dependents has increased to such an extent that one of their principal problems today is to make sure that no one can deprive them of their sacred right to earn. They view with alarm the myriad proposals appearing this year in legislatures throughout the country, seeking to eliminate women from the economic field. *They are business women,* and therefore do not need to be told that the attack on the right of married women to work is only an entering wedge in the campaign to remove *all* women from the field of paid work.

This alertness of business women; this understanding of the danger confronting all women who work, no doubt accounts for the fact that so large a number of organizations composed of business and professional women have endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment, *which would make the law equal in its application to men and women.*

Women of the business and professional classification—women who have earned degrees from the school of hard work and experience—are not willing to take a chance on the dubious protection of fickle state laws that change from legislature to legislature. As practical business women they cannot fail to see the permanent value of a rule established in the Constitution, which in effect would say, "You cannot single out women as a special group and restrict them by law. In a Democracy law must apply equally to citizens, irrespective of sex." That is all the Amendment says.

Business and professional women are familiar with the Constitutional protection to "free speech" and a "free press." They know that without these guarantees Americans would have no free press nor free speech. They see what happens in nations where there are no such guarantees. Therefore an Equal Rights Amendment in the Constitution protecting women citizens from the mistaken good intentions as well as the evil intentions of others, and assuring to each individual an equal share in Democracy, is the practical guarantee informed business and professional women know they must have if they are to survive in the field of paid work. Without it women will be victims of ever-changing conditions and "powers that be."

It is sometimes difficult for women in the home—particularly in comfortable homes where a fond husband or father supplies not only every need but a degree of luxury—to see the necessity for the Equal Rights Amendment, even though often *only the life of one person* stands between each of these women and the necessity to make a living. It is not so with business women. They *know* they need a guarantee to prevent saddling upon them unequal laws which handicap them in making a living—in providing a home for themselves and their dependents.

Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment have said that women could not have equal rights with men because women and men are biologically different, knowing full well that this has nothing to do with the subject—that the Amendment has to do only with making law, not men and women, equal. *The Constitution deals only with law.* Establishing in the Constitution the principle of equal rights means just what it says—equality of right.

Women progress with freedom—not restriction. As the youthful Queen of England said on her recent visit to the Western World, "Woman's place in civilized society depends on the growth of law."

Just as "eternal vigilance is the price of peace," so eternal vigilance is the price of Democracy. *Only in a Democracy* do women go forward on an equal basis with men. In asking an Equal Rights Amendment, women are only asking a full share in Democracy. Business and professional women know this to be true. It therefore is not surprising that they want an Equal Rights Amendment in the Constitution. It would be more surprising if they did not.

Order Equal Rights Seals Today

New momentum has been given the Equal Rights Seal Campaign through orders from Stamp Collectors, who are beginning to show a lively interest in the "Non-Postal Poster Label." One collector ordered a supply to send to "some of my friends in various hospitals, who collect poster stamps."

The use of Seals is becoming an established custom with many who believe that the law should be equal in its application to men and women, and are doing their bit by spreading the idea in this way.

The Seal Campaign Committee is asking those who believe in the Equal Rights Amendment to use the Seal on every letter posted. The principal cause for gratification to date is the fact that the use of Seals is steadily growing, spreading the idea of "Democracy for Women" and at the same time producing income for Equal Rights.

If you have not purchased Seals, do so now. If your supply is exhausted, re-order today. Address Seal Campaign Committee, 144 B. Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

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North Carolina Alive To Equal Rights

GREAT interest in the Equal Rights Amendment has been especially manifest in the last few weeks in various sections of North Carolina.

In Raleigh, Chapel Hill, Durham, Asheville, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Guilford College and Salisbury, meetings have been held and organizations have expressed approval of the Equal Rights program.

A luncheon meeting of more than thirty representative Asheville women, sponsored by the Business and Professional Women's Club of Asheville, heard Anita Pollitzer and Clara Snell Wolfe discuss the Equal Rights Amendment. The meeting was arranged by a committee which included Miss Genevieve Rutherford, Miss Frances Auld, Miss Marie Shank and others. Officers of various Asheville groups were present and great interest was expressed. Miss Auld, President of the Asheville Business and Professional Women's Club, presided.

In a brief talk before the Asheville U. D. C. chapter, meeting May 4, Miss Pollitzer told of the present work in Washington for Equal Rights for women, and spoke of the fact that the Equal Rights Amendment had been favorably reported by the Judiciary subcommittee of the House of Representatives, of which Representative Zebulon Weaver is Chairman. Mrs. J. V. Erskine presided, and expressed great pleasure at this recent achievement for justice for women.

On arrival in Asheville, Mrs. Wolfe and Miss Pollitzer were entertained at luncheon by Mrs. Thomas S. Rollins, who has long taken active leadership with the Woman's Party in this country for the Amendment and in Geneva for international work for equality.

Five hundred students at Greensboro College, Greensboro, assembled at the Chapel hour to hear a talk on "The Equal Rights Amendment as the Next Step in the Woman Movement." Faculty and students joined in enthusiastic applause. At the close of the meeting, Dr. R. A. Smith, Professor of Religious Education, who presided, expressed his complete accord with the Equal Rights Amendment, saying that the whole subject rests on the answer to the question, "Are Women People?"

The attitude of the faculty and students of Greensboro College is exactly what might be expected from the third oldest chartered college for women in the country, and the first college in the country to have a woman President.

Guilford College, founded by Quakers in 1834 and the second oldest co-educational college in the United States, set aside its Chapel time so that its approximately five hundred young men and women could hear a discussion of "Legal and Economic Equality" by Anita Pollitzer. Dr. Samuel Haworth, Professor of Religion, who presided, expressed his belief that the issue discussed was fundamentally right.

The women students of both Guilford and Greensboro Colleges expressed an intention to form study groups to keep in touch with contemporary conditions and changes in the status of women.

At Chapel Hill, the *Daily Tar Heel* of the University of North Carolina, in announcing the discussion of equal legislative rights of men and women in the Grill room of Graham Memorial Hall added, "Dr. Ernest R. Groves, of the sociology department of this university, wrote in his book, 'The American Woman,' that the National Woman's Party 'regards laws distinguishing women from men as liabilities that work in the long run for the advantage of the latter,' holding that 'it is hopeless to expect women to receive equal pay for equal work if they are restricted on account of their sex by special legislation even though it is passed in the name of women's welfare'."

At Chapel Hill, the president of the American Association of University Women arranged a small luncheon meeting at Carolina Inn, where Mrs. Wolfe presented the necessity for the Amendment, particularly to block the disastrous effects of industrial legislation which affects women and not men. A telegram was sent by those present to Senator Robert R. Reynolds, asking his support of Senate Resolution 82, which was then before the Foreign Relations Committee and which sought to prevent restrictions against women by international agreement.

Mrs. Wolfe also addressed the Business and Professional Women's Clubs in Winston-Salem and Durham and the Altrusa Clubs of Winston-Salem and Salisbury. In Durham, Mrs. J. J. Spengler gave a tea and Mrs. James M. Keech a luncheon to which leading women of the Duke University group were invited and where they expressed keen interest in the dangers confronting wage earning women today and in the Amendment as a means of meeting them.

Work of the National Woman's Party in North Carolina is in charge of Mrs. Ed P. White, of Asheville. Mrs. White has already given effective service both in the present and past sessions of Congress for the Equal Rights Amendment. Her experience as a worker in many women's groups for civic and social improvement will be of great value to the Equal Rights Amendment.

To Re-Patriate American Born Women

Representative D'Alesandro, of Maryland, has introduced in the House two bills, proposing to remedy what he considers defects in the naturalization law.

The first bill, which has a favorable report from the Committee on Naturalization and Immigration, would give to women, who have lost their citizenship through marriage prior to September, 1922, the right to go into court, pledge allegiance to the United States and regain their citizenship without taking an examination.

Publications

Equal Rights Amendment, Questions and Answers ..... $.10
50 for $1.50

Glimpse of Laws Shows Need for Equal Rights ..... .05
By BURNITA SHELTON MATTHEWS

I Appeal to Women for United Support ..... .05
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The Equal Rights Amendment

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. *What is the Equal Rights Amendment?*

   The Lucretia Mott Amendment to the United States Constitution is before Congress. It reads:

   "Section 1. Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

   "Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

2. *What do its proponents think such "blanket legislation" will accomplish?*

   They believe that the passage of the Amendment will bring about the removal of all discrimination against women in both Federal and State laws; that it will render invalid every future attempt on the part of legislators or administrators to interfere with equal rights for women.

   All amendments to the U. S. Constitution are "blanket" amendments. Justice Story of the Supreme Court said: "The Constitution unavoidably deals in general language. It did not suit the purposes of the people, in framing this great charter of our liberties, to provide for minute specifications."

3. *Does the law discriminate against women?*

   There are still on the statute books of the forty-eight states more than one thousand laws discriminating against women because of sex. Discriminatory laws deprive women of equal economic opportunity and of the right to manage their own property. In some states a husband can collect his wife's wages and can collect for loss of her services. In other states a woman has not equal guardianship of her children. There are states in which the bond of a woman will not be accepted even though she may be a successful business woman supporting her husband and family. In these states she could not even furnish bond for her own son or daughter incarcerated in jail. Women do not inherit equally with men in all states and in numerous other ways they are handicapped in the business of living and making a living. In some states guardians must be appointed to represent adult women when under similar circumstances men would be free to represent themselves. HOWEVER—IF A WOMAN IS SENTENCED TO BE EXECUTED, NO ONE IS APPOINTED TO REPRESENT HER. SHE REPRESENTS HERSELF.

4. *What are "equal rights"?*

   The Oxford Dictionary defines "equal" as having the same right or privilege." Equal rights for men and women in the law might be defined as applying the law equally to men and women. The Amendment language is definite, concise and in harmony with the other amendments to the Constitution. The Ninth Amendment contains no definition of the word "rights" used therein. The Fourteenth Amendment contains no definition of "due process of law," or of "equal protection."

5. *Do "equal rights" mean accepting men's standards in everything, or women's?*

   Under the Amendment State rights would be preserved. Each state would adopt its own standard, but the standard in any one state would apply equally to men and women. When suffrage was won, California equalized its law by abolishing poll tax for men while Mississippi equalized its law by extending poll tax to women.

6. *Does the Amendment mean that all persons are equal?*

   Certainly not—only under the law. Some men are strong and some are weak. Mentalities of men differ. It is the same with women. It would mean that under the law women would have equal rights with other citizens; that they would be handicapped only by their personal physical and mental limitations—just as are men.

7. *Does equality mean uniformity throughout the whole country in matters in which State statutes now differ widely?*

   "Equality" does not mean uniformity. Under the Amendment, in a given state men and women would have equal rights, but the rights would not necessarily be the same in all of the states. Because New York has a divorce law, the Amendment would not require South Carolina to amend its law to grant divorce. Each state would preserve its own standard but the standard in any one state would apply equally to men and women in that particular state.

8. *How can sovereign states be compelled to carry out the purposes of this Amendment if their legislatures are dilatory?*

   If their legislatures are dilatory, the states can be compelled to carry out the purposes of the Amendment exactly as they are compelled by other provisions of the Constitution. There is no unwarranted interference with the rights of states under the Amendment.

9. *Who shall decide these questions—Congress, the State Legislatures, or the Courts?*

   The State Legislatures would themselves decide whether any particular legislation, old or new, was in conformity with the Amendment. If a State law did not harmonize with the Amendment, remedial bills would be drafted. If the Legislatures did not equalize certain laws, there would be test cases in the Courts. These cases could go to the Supreme Court of the United States for final determination.

10. *How could the Amendment affect rights determined by custom and not by law?*

    The Amendment itself would affect only law, since the Constitution deals with law, not cus-

tom. There are traditions and prejudices against women in all fields of endeavor, and handicaps of custom and psychology. The Amendment will effect these indirectly. The recognition of women's legal rights by the Equal Rights Amendment will have a powerful influence in changing tradition and raising women's status.

11. *What effect will the Amendment have on a wife's right of dower?*

Curtesy and dower laws vary in many states. New Jersey has equalized its dower and curtesy law by making equal provision for husband and wife. Some states have abolished dower and curtesy and have made equal provision for husband and wife in their decedents' estate law. Under the Amendment, each state could decide upon its own standard, but the standard would be the same for men and women.

12. *Shall wives be responsible for the support of their husbands and families?*

Today, under the laws of many states, husbands and wives owe each other, mutually, support and assistance. The practice of making the wife and mother, as well as the husband and father, responsible for the support of spouse and children is far under way in this country, one-third of the states having such laws. In some states women are criminally liable for the support of their children. The majority of wives in every state now contribute to the support of husbands and families through their labor and services in the home, although such support is accorded no legal recognition. Under the Amendment, each state could set its own standard of support.

13. *What effect will the Amendment have upon alimony?*

In 13 states the law makes no distinction between a husband and wife with regard to the right to receive support from each other after having been divorced. Records show that a large percentage of divorced women are not only supporting themselves but also their children. Alimony is decreed in only about 10 per cent of divorce cases. Under the Amendment, each state could set its own standard regarding alimony.

14. *Will the marital domicile continue to be the husband's place of residence, or the wife's place of voting?*

In eight states the wife may have a domicile not controlled by that of her husband for the purpose of voting, holding office, and serving on a jury, as well as for the purpose of bringing suit for divorce or separation. Under the Amendment, each state could set its own standards respecting equal rights in its domicile law.

15. *The age of consent to marriage in some states is lower for girls than it is for boys. Will equality be established on the basis of present laws for boys or present laws for girls?*

Under the Amendment, each state would set its own standard of equality. At present there are six states wherein the law makes no distinction between boys and girls with respect to the minimum age for contracting marriage.

16. *Would the proposed Amendment abrogate State laws providing a pension to widows to aid them in raising their children in the home?*

The pension is for the child and not the mother. The basis is usually so much for each child. In many states the pension is given to either parent or to a guardian responsible for the child and unable to support it. Under the Amendment a state may base its standard upon the needs of the child and give a pension to either parent or a guardian to administer.

17. *Will the Equal Rights Amendment affect maternity legislation?*

Various laws on this subject have provided for appropriations from the United States Treasury to the several states for the purpose of co-operating with them in promoting maternal and child welfare. The 1935 Federal Law provided a yearly appropriation "for the purpose of enabling each state to extend and improve . . . the health of mothers and children . . .," the payments being administered by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor and local child-health units. The Secretary of Labor was to allot a sum to each state and such a part of a larger fund as he found the number of live births in such state bore to the total number of live births in the United States.

All men are not soldiers. Yet soldiers receive a bonus from the Government and care in case of illness, because they have performed a service to the State. All women are not mothers. Those who are mothers are considered to have performed a service to the State. Health conditions of certain groups of men and women naturally differ. The promotion and extension of care for any of these groups could not be classed as legislation for an entire sex.

These laws would not be affected by the Equal Rights Amendment.

18. *What will be the effect of the Amendment on existing minimum-wage and maximum-hour legislation for women?*

The trend today is toward wage and hour legislation for all workers. Minimum-wage and hour legislation applies to women only in certain states. These states, anticipating the adoption of the Amendment, could amend their laws to apply to all adult workers. Unless the laws were so amended, they would be ineffective and in that case adult women, relieved of the handicap of special restrictions, could contract on the same terms as men.

Minimum-wage, maximum-hour, and prohibition-of-night-work laws, applying to women and not to men, make women less desirable as employees. Equal pay for equal work is impossible of attainment when men and women do not work under the same regulations. Whenever regulations are necessary, they should be based on the nature of the work and not upon the sex of the worker.

The Equal Rights Amendment will actually place labor legislation on a sounder basis by

making it necessary to regulate the hours, wages, and conditions of work of all adult workers on an equal basis and to deal with child labor separately and therefore more effectively.

19. *Will the Amendment itself abrogate existing laws? What will happen to all laws pertaining to women between the time this Amendment is adopted and the time Congress passes legislation to enforce it?*

The passage of the Amendment will not automatically abrogate existing laws, but it will render them unconstitutional. It will compel both Federal and State governments to observe the principle of equal rights.

The process of adopting an amendment to the Constitution is not a quick one. It requires action by three-fourths of the states. There would be sufficient time between passage and ratification by the necessary number of states to bring State laws into harmony with the Amendment. After passage of the Suffrage Amendment, there was no difficulty in this respect.

20. *Why is it vital to working women that the Equal Rights Amendment be passed at this time?*

There is a definite trend toward forcing women out of paid work, regardless of their necessity for earning a living. Married women employed in the public schools and in state and municipal offices and institutions have been the first singled out for attack. The Equal Rights Amendment would make unconstitutional the singling out of women public service employees for discharge because of marriage.

The United States is a member of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations. The International Labor Organization in its Conventions, regulating the work of women, has assumed that women workers require different treatment from men and need special protection. Two Night Work Conventions, barring women from night work, a Lead Paint Convention, prohibiting women and children from work in the lead-paint industries, and a Mining Convention, prohibiting the work of women underground in mines, have been ratified by many member countries. Once a Convention is ratified, its terms are binding for ten years, and if the Convention is not denounced the year following the expiration of the ten-year period, its terms are binding for another ten years. Our country's membership in the International Labor Organization is a menace to the freedom of working women unless they have the protection of the Equal Rights Amendment. This Amendment will be a protection against conventions restricting women's right to work, because the United States cannot accept a convention contrary to a provision in the Constitution.

21. *Why not remove discriminations against women one by one, through "specific bills for specific ills" in each state?*

It would take generations of priceless energy and effort to do this. Moreover, State legislation is insecure, in that laws passed by one Legislature may be modified or repealed by the next.

22. *Will the Amendment cause confusion and litigation?*

There is no reason why the Amendment would cause more confusion than State laws. Certainly, piece-work legislation will not eliminate litigation or avoid confusion. We not only have litigation with "specific bills for specific ills," but each one of these specific laws has to be interpreted.

It is worth considerable to women to settle the question of their status. It is safe to say that no litigation under the Amendment could possibly be so tedious and laborious as obtaining, one by one, a "specific bill for a specific ill" and litigating on all or some of them.

It took seventy years to win the vote for women in this country and much of that time was spent in persuading women that they needed it. Even at the end, there was a large group of organized women spending money to oppose suffrage.

In the words of the late M. Carey Thomas, when President of Bryn Mawr College: "It is strangely unsympathetic for opponents of an equal rights amendment to suggest removing thousands of inequalities and injustices by slow and painful piece-work in 48 State legislatures while women are being born, living their lives, and dying without the justice for which they have been waiting since the time of the cave man."

* * *

The Equal Rights Amendment is the statement of a broad principle, such as others in the Constitution, which the framers of that document considered fundamental—religious freedom, freedom of speech and press, the guarantee of life and liberty. Fundamental principles were incorporated in the Constitution. Other matters were left to the states. The Suffrage Amendment enfranchised women. The Equal Rights Amendment will guarantee them the fundamental rights other citizens already enjoy.

Great Britain's Queen A Feminist

England's lovely and gracious Queen on her recent visit to the Western World proved herself a real feminist. She never failed to show interest in the work of women and their progress.

"How many women are in Congress?" she asked. Each time she encountered a woman in high place she evidenced pleasure. Even in talking with the youthful representative of the Girl Scouts she closely examined her medals. She wanted to know in what fields she had excelled in order to receive the awards.

Laying the cornerstone for a public building in Canada she said: "Perhaps it is not inappropriate that this task should be performed by a woman, for woman's position in civilized society has depended upon the growth of law."

According to Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, writing in their column, *"Merry-Go-Round,"* the Queen, when told by Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, that there was a movement in this country to bar married women from gainful employment, particularly in public offices, said:

"Oh, the women of your country must not permit that. They have a right to work and they should fight against any restraint of their rights. Women must not permit any encroachment on the economic and social gains they have attained. They must resist that."

Alva Belmont House To Extend Its Hospitality

UNDER the able direction of the House Committee, composed of Ellen LaMotte, Chairman, Marguerite Smith, Mrs. Avery Coonley and Mrs. Norman Underwood, Alva Belmont House, national headquarters of the Woman's Party, is being converted into a Club House for the use of members and friends.

Located in the heart of Washington within a stone's throw of the National Capitol, the United States Supreme Court, Senate and House office buildings, the Congressional and Folger Libraries, Alva Belmont is in every respect ideal for Club purposes and affords the Woman's Party member or friend in the city for a short time, a home in the center of things.

The lovely old residence, built by the third Lord Baltimore before Washington was the Nation's Capital, intrigues the imagination. Its spacious rooms and halls have extended their hospitality to the great and near great since the beginning of the Republic. Rumor has it that Aaron Burr spent a winter there and conceivably George and Martha Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, the Madisons, Monroes, Patrick Henry, Henry Clay and others whose names are almost cornerstones in the building of the nation, were among its guests.

The dignity of the Georgian structure, built of English handmade brick, laid in Flemish bond and mellowed by the sunlight, rain and snows of nearly two hundred years, causes the building to stand out even among the very handsome and majestic of Washington's newer structures. Its charm is distinctly its own.

In order that the entire house may be released for club purposes, offices of the organization have been moved to the ten-room house at the rear of the beautiful garden. The office building has been reconditioned and now houses all departments dealing with the Party activities, including EQUAL RIGHTS, magazine of the Party. The building overlooks the spacious garden, which has an air of Old World seclusion and during the spring of the year is bordered with the purple, white and gold Iris, of that royal line of Iris, which bordered the garden of Cameron House, headquarters of the Party on Lafayette Square in the final days of the campaign that gave to women the ballot. At the north end of the garden is a formal rose garden. At the south end there grows on an arbor a rose said to have been planted by Martha Washington.

The drawing room, dining room and other rooms on the main floor of Alva Belmont House are to be reserved for the social life of Headquarters, while the two upper floors are the sleeping quarters. These fine old rooms, spacious and airy, with high ceilings, are appropriately furnished with four-poster beds and other antiques, that contribute materially to the charming atmosphere for which the house is noted.

Before long a tea room will be opened in the Olde Coach House, connected with the main building. There is ample space for any overflow along the enclosed porch with French windows, opening on the garden.

During the summer it is planned to serve in the garden on the brick terrace shaded by a magnificent Dutch elm, believed to be more than one hundred and fifty years old and said to be one of the finest specimens of this variety of elm in this country.

The House Committee expects to do everything possible to retain the fine, delightful atmosphere of Alva Belmont House and to make it a home for members and their friends while in Washington. Because the number of rooms available is limited, it is advisable to make reservations in advance if a protracted stay is contemplated. A card to Jane Bowen, House Director, will receive immediate attention.

Alva Belmont House was a gift to the Woman's Party by its first president and National Chairman, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, whose deed to the Party sets forth the purpose of the fine old residence, which the organization "shall use and occupy . . . for the advancement of women."

Mrs. Roosevelt Questions Wisdom Of Certain Laws

"It seems to me that it is the basic right of any human being to work," says Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President, in her column, "My Day," in discussing the right of married women to work for a living. "Basically," says the wife of the Chief Executive, "is it wise to begin to lay down laws and regulations about any particular group? If we begin to say that married women cannot work, why shouldn't we say next that men with an income of more than a certain sum shall not work, or that young people whose parents are able to support them have no right to look for jobs?"

As to "taking the bread out of the mouths of single women who are helping to support members of their families," Mrs. Roosevelt says, "It sounds a bit hysterical," and adds, "so let us consider the question calmly."

Not many months ago, Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Division, United States Department of Labor, in a radio address revealed the fact that because of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law, which applies to women but not to their men competitors, women have been losing their jobs. Miss Anderson, who had not anticipated this result, appealed for a concerted public opinion to stop the discharging of women. This law lays down regulations for "a particular group."

At a meeting of the Regional Conference for Democratic Women of the Eastern states, presided over by Dorothy Strauss and addressed by Dorothy Kenyon, Emma Guffey Miller, Democratic National Committeewoman for Pennsylvania, told of the disastrous effect of a Pennsylvania group law, a Maximum Hour Law applying to women only. "On account of this law," said Mrs. Miller, "women lost their jobs. I know, because I am a member of a Board to which many of these women who lost their jobs appealed for help."

Eileen Brady, a former member of the New Jersey legislature told the conference that New Jersey women of many organizations had formed a Council for the purpose of opposing all legislative proposals discriminating against women.

Virginia Penalizes Marriage

Word comes from Virginia that the Health Department of that state is discharging all married women employes and that the Board of Education has declared that no married woman shall be engaged and that those who are married while in service will be urged to resign.

Independence Day For American Women

INDEPENDENCE DAY for American women will be celebrated July 19, the anniversary of the First Woman's Rights Convention, held July 19, 1848, in Seneca Falls, N. J., when equal rights pioneers signed the document proclaiming to the world that women demanded their complete freedom.

At Alva Belmont House, National Headquarters of the Woman's Party in Washington, Mildred Seydell, of Atlanta, Ga., well-known lecturer and *Atlanta Georgian* columnist, will speak on the subject of Women's Independence Day.

Dorothy Sanford Wilson, president of the League of Professional Women, Inc., Portland, Oregon, will discuss the progress women have made. Mrs. Wilson is a member of Alpha Phi Fraternity, the A. A. U. W., is National Chairman of Legislation of the League of Professional Women and head of the Department of Extension and Federation Service of the Portland Federation of Women's Clubs. She is a former Vice-President of the Lincoln Republican Club of Portland and a delegate to the Oregon Women's Joint Legislative Council.

Mrs. Seydell, an extensive traveler, sails this month for Scandinavian countries, where she will make a study of the status of women and will interview many celebrities among both men and women.

The Washington meeting will be held at 8 P. M., in the garden at Headquarters, where women will inaugurate the Independence Day celebration, with the expectation of making the event an annual nation-wide observance.

Women throughout the country should celebrate this sacred day in the history of the woman movement. Meetings of all kinds should reaffirm that first public demand in history that women should have equal rights with men under the law of our land.

Every woman may add her bit to the final consummation of this century long struggle of women for justice and equality under the law if she will arrange a meeting in her own community, get a few minutes on her local broadcasting station, to devote to honoring this famous date in history and by explaining it to women who have not yet properly appreciated its tremendous significance. Editors of local papers should be urged to write an editorial on this timely and vital subject.

Glossies of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton will be supplied free of charge wherever newspapers will use them.

It is urgent that women keep before the world their demands for complete democracy, or at least an equal share with men. Special honor should be paid those great and noble women, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who joined in calling the First Woman's Rights Convention, just as Washington and Lincoln are honored.

"Remember the first convention originated with thee," wrote Lucretia Mott to Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1854. "When we were walking the streets of Boston together in 1841, to find Elizabeth Moore's daughter, thou asked if we could not have a convention for Woman's Rights. Then when James and self were attending the yearly meeting at Waterloo in forty-eight . . . thou again proposed the Convention which was afterward held at Seneca Falls. I have never liked the undeserved praise in the Reports of that Meeting's proceedings, of being 'the moving spirit of that occasion' when to thyself belongs the honor, aided so efficiently by the McClintocks."

Figures Don't Lie

By An Industrial Worker

The Social Security Board reporting on workers covered by old-age insurance under the Social Security Act says: "Women in industrial and commercial jobs during 1937 received an average annual wage of $525 and men an average of $1,027."

These figures are interesting as showing the relative security in old age of men and women of the future. However, when used as one public speaker is using them, as a basis for discovering the relative wages of men and women, they are worthless. Since the average number of hours worked per man and per woman is not known, no comparison of rates of pay is possible from these figures.

In most of the states there are laws limiting working hours per day and per week for women; many states forbid night work for women; laws plus publicity campaigns have forced many married women out of good jobs into factory and mercantile establishments where they are subject to regulations; a variety of other laws, all tending to keep women unemployed and on part-time jobs, so that their yearly pay represents only a fraction of what it would be if they were employed full time.

As an example: Bindery women in New York City have a minimum wage scale which in 52 weeks of 44 hours would net them $1,250. Due to state laws, which have operated to turn their work over to boys and men, leaving to women only a small percentage of the work that was entirely theirs before the advent of our protective legislation, hundreds of bindery women earn between $300 and $500 a year.

It is rather startling to be reminded, on reading the Security Board's figures, that even when they are retired on old age pensions, women will be paying in cash the penalty of New York's protection of their "health and morals." One wonders how they retain either health or morals in these circumstances.

That state labor laws plus the depression have brought many women to financial grief was brought home to New Yorkers when a bindery woman held a $48,000 sweepstakes ticket. One newspaper reported: "She makes $4.40 a day on the rare days when she works." Asked: "Are you going to take a vacation?" she replied: "Sure, I don't need a vacation. I've had one for seven years."

Would Include Men In Labor Law

Representative William D. Byron of Maryland has introduced in the House of Representatives of Congress a bill extending the provisions of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law which now covers women and minors, to men. Passage of this bill would bring the one-sided District of Columbia Bill, which has proved disastrous to many working women, into line with the nationwide Wage-Hour Bill, covering all workers, regardless of sex.

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

PIONEERS TODAY AND TOMORROW

WE ARE HEARING a great deal over the radio and in speeches at public gatherings about the pioneer woman of tomorrow. This call for pioneer women is an important one and great is the need today for the pioneer spirit.

However, pioneers are not apt to be popular in their own group or in their own day, and I am wondering if some of the pioneers of today are recognized as such, or if some of those calling loudly for pioneer women of tomorrow want the genuine article.

A pioneer is one who goes before, preparing the way for others. She usually faces ridicule, skepticism, hardship, and even persecution, because she is a little ahead of her time and is not satisfied with things as they are. There have been brave pioneers among women of the past and I know that there will be women of today and tomorrow fearless enough to blaze a trail through and out of the present world turmoil. But these women will not be the idols of women's clubs nor the press. They will not be in demand for speeches at every big convention or dinner. Instead they will probably be criticized as militant, peculiar, theoretical, or unsexed, just as were the women pioneers who came before them.

Women pioneers have had a glorious history. Anyone who is at all familiar with the history of the women's movement knows this. More men and women will realize this as they listen to the radio broadcasts over the NBC network, Fridays at 2 P. M., "Women in the Making of America." I have been thrilled and inspired by the courage, determination, and vision of the women pioneers of the past as related in this series, and I congratulate Eva von Baur Hansl who planned the series and Jane Ashman who has written the script for giving it to us at this time when we need to rededicate ourselves to the spirit and ideals of true democracy.

These pioneers gained for women freedom of religious worship, freedom of speech and assemblage, educational opportunities, property rights and suffrage, and in winning these for women, they have not only improved the status of women, but have strengthened democracy.

What remains for the pioneer women of today and tomorrow? First of all, the preservation of those rights that have already been won, by fostering love and respect for democratic principles.

There is a philosophy abroad in the world today, working in insidious ways to undermine respect for and allegiance to democracy. This philosophy would wipe out all the rights that women have gained and then go on to destroy other basic rights of a free people. There will be women who will sacrifice much to preserve this freedom.

Second, the pioneer women of today and tomorrow will work to establish in the law of the land equal rights for men and women. This can be done in our own country by the Equal Rights Amendment. This recognition of a legal status for women equal to that of men will do much to strengthen democracy. In fact democracy is not complete unless it acknowledges that men and women are created free and equal.

Ninety-one years ago, on July 19, 1848, in Seneca Falls, New York, a group of pioneers, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, held the First Woman's Rights Convention and adopted a Declaration of Sentiments which opened with these ringing words to which the pioneers of today must rededicate themselves:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Governor Defeats Jury Service Bill

News comes from Puerto Rico that Senora Maria Perez Almiroty, member of the Puerto Rican Senate, presented recently in that body a bill extending to women the right to serve on juries. The bill, approved by both houses, failed because it was not signed by the Governor.

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Mississippi Women 'On The March'

The political position of women has been made an issue in Mississippi through action of the Mississippi Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, which has circulated a questionnaire among candidates for state offices in order to determine their stand on women holding public office.

Directed by the President, Pearl McLellan, of Greenwood, Miss., the poll of candidates should prove illuminating. The Federation is taking the effective political approach, ascertaining from *candidates* their position, rather than waiting until they become *officials*.

"The Mississippi Federation . . . believes that in these complex days the best interests of our great state and country generally are most effectively served when men and women work together, with high purpose, intelligence and devotion to bring about a solution of problems that are common to us all, and that society loses proportionately when women are denied an opportunity because of their sex, to fully participate in public life, whether economic, social or political," says the communication.

"For these reasons," it continues, "we consider it important that women of Mississippi should be permitted to hold public office, whether elective or appointive, without discrimination because of their sex." The questionnaire concludes with a pledge which says, "If elected, I pledge myself not to discriminate against women because of sex, in making appointments to any office within my control or influence."

Women of Mississippi are keenly aware of the necessity for eliminating the traditional barriers of sex. One Mississippi farming woman, in a letter to EQUAL RIGHTS declares, "I believe that women who own farming property should and could be organized. Three outstanding lawyers have told me that when they went to get money for me in the usual course of business, they have been told by those controlling the production corporations that they did not want to make loans to women; that farming was not a woman's business—that it was a man's business, etc.

"My sister, who owns property, gets financial credit and is the real business source, has to use her son as a 'front.' A woman whose husband died recently, had to get a manager, as a 'front.' It has been almost a miracle that I have been able to hold my property. Women whose fathers have sacrificed to leave them a competency, in order to operate their farms have had to turn over the management of the property to a man—*any man*—a husband, son, next of kin (or what have you), who frequently has not known about farming or business half as much as the farm woman and with much less business sense, then sit by while the 'front' spends and wastes money.

"Last year my place was set back a year and debts made that I have been forced to pay, all because of this situation. Whenever I have had the management of my property, I managed so that I was paying debts made by men, and also had something to live on. God only knows what the outcome will be now. This condition is so prevalent that I believe something might be done if women would organize for their farming rights."

According to this Mississippi farming woman, the attitude of men who think that farming is a man's business, and make this attitude felt in practical matters makes it almost impossible for a woman to farm successfully, regardless of her ability and business acumen. "I have letters to prove what I say," she declares.

Mrs. Mesta Goes To Geneva

Mrs. George Mesta, of the Woman's Party National Executive Council, sailed from New York June 15 on the Steamship Aquitania for Europe, en route to Geneva, Switzerland, where preparations are rapidly being completed for the formal dedication of the Headquarters of the World Woman's Party. Mrs. Mesta is chairman of the Committee in charge of the dedication ceremonies and on her arrival in Geneva will join Alice Paul, World Party Chairman, who has been in Geneva for several weeks; Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, chairman of pageants and processions; Mrs. Maria Bye, of Swarthmore, Pa., chairman of the Headquarters Furnishings Committee, and Mrs. Katherine Boyle, treasurer.

In the American delegation in Geneva for the dedication will be about thirty of the nation's foremost feminists. Representatives from more than twenty countries will participate in the ceremonies.

Before sailing from New York, Mrs. Mesta expressed the opinion that through the world organization women's groups differing on many other questions will unite to save the woman movement for women of the world. "The position of women throughout the world is at stake," she said, "and only the uniting of women everywhere will save it."

Headquarters Salutes King and Queen

Honoring their Britannic Majesties George VI and Elizabeth, the first King and Queen of England to set foot on American soil, the British Union Jack fluttered from a flagstaff at Woman's Party National Headquarters June 8-9 while the sovereigns were visitors in Washington. From another flagstaff flew the Stars and Stripes.

The friendly salute came from the identical house from which, during the War of 1812, were fired the only shots in defense of Washington after defeat of the American forces by the British at Bladensburg. The incident occurred in the summer of 1814.

Arranging for the salute from Alva Belmont House was Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Delaware, daughter of Thomas F. Bayard, first United States Ambassador to Great Britain.

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